

The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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for Teachers and Students of History

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New Books *Editorials*

Legend in History
—Gilbert J. Garraghan

St. Louis, the Just King
—Donald A. Gallagher

Pope Saint Pius V
—Pedro Leturia

Questioning in History
—Marie R. Madden

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Legend as an Historical Source

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IN ENGLISH, and other languages have their equivalents, there is a whole group of words signifying an account or narrative at variance, in some way or other, with the truth. Thus we have: fable, tale, story, legend, myth, saga. In ordinary usage no hard and fast line is drawn between these words and they are often used indifferently to express the idea of a fictitious or untrustworthy account. Thus, one meets with mention of the Lincoln saga, the Lincoln myth, the Lincoln legend, where reference is made to the mass of exaggerations and unverified reports connected with the Emancipator's name. But scientific study of the fictitious element in historical sources makes it necessary to determine with precision the exact content of meaning to be attached to each of the terms in question. Such technical meanings or definitions may be assigned as follows:¹

Fable. "This is a recital the actors in which are birds, beasts, other non-intellectual beings or even abstract notions personified, which take on human characteristics and talk and act like human beings." Classical examples are the fables of Aesop, Phaedrus, La Fontaine.

Tale (story). "This is a recital dealing with indeterminate times, places, persons. The conventional beginning for a tale is: 'Once upon a time there was a king, a little boy, etc.' Fairy tales, collections of which have been made in most languages ever since the Grimm brothers brought out their famous work in 1827, are examples in point." But fairy stories are only one type of "tale" as the term is generally understood. Thus the

term is broad enough to include also the parables of the Gospels, which lack determination of time, place, and persons.

Legend. "A legend in ordinary usage means an account at variance with the truth. The typical legendary recital is set in an historical frame-work of time, place, and persons. But it has no actual connection with these elements. The historical or real element is only a peg on which the fictitious element is hung." The term "legend" (Latin: *legenda*, "to be read") was originally used in reference to the saints' lives and similar accounts which formed, and still form, part of the liturgical office. The fictitious or unhistorical element sometimes present in these lives gave rise to the present meaning of the term. Legends, whatever their origin, are first carried along, for periods of time more or less considerable, by oral or popular tradition. They eventually are committed to writing, but the principles regulating their use by the historian are the same as those which apply to popular tradition.

Myth. The view, apparently a well-founded one, usually taken of the origin of the various mythologies, is that they represent attempts on the part of primitive peoples to explain physical phenomena by personifying them. Homer's Greeks, seeing a pestilence raging and unable to account for it, conceived of an angry sun-god discharging his arrows at the helpless victims. Myth, therefore, unlike legend, does not deal with human beings, but with superhuman ones.

Saga. This is a hero tale, Scandinavian, and especially Icelandic in origin.

The nature of oral or popular tradition and the caution to be employed by the historian in its use are lucidly discussed by the Bollandist, Charles De Smedt, in his

¹These definitions are in most cases reproduced *ad litteram* from Francisco Lanzoni, *Genesis, svolgimento e tramonto delle legende storiche* (Rome, Vatican Press, 1925). The standard work on the subject. With Lanzoni legend is a sweeping term, covering historical falsification of any kind.

well known treatise on historical criticism.² His main contention is that popular tradition when critically examined turns out to be true in some cases and false in others. It is scarcely practicable to lay down general rules for determining its reliability. Every popular tradition is a problem by itself and must be examined on its own merits. Often there is no foundation whatever for the report, which is merely a product of popular imagination, a case which De Smedt illustrates by the popular German legend of Count Gleicher of Thuringia, a thirteenth-century crusader, who, having married in the Orient in the belief that his first wife was dead, found her on his return home to be alive. Thereupon, so it is alleged, he was granted a dispensation by Pope Gregory IX to live with both—a statement which has no foundation whatever in fact. The tradition bobs up abruptly for the first time in 1584. The tomb of a later Count Gleicher who died in 1694, showing a knight between two female figures, probably gave plausibility to the story. After citing this and other illustrations for his purpose, De Smedt comments:

This is enough to show how illusory is the rule which assumes that a core of truth is always present in popular tradition and will allow one to entertain doubt only as to details. It is not rash to affirm that the cases in which this rule has been discredited are much more numerous than those in which it has been verified. The residue of truth yielded up by certain traditions when critically examined attaches more often to the details than to the substance of the fact.

De Smedt thus disposes of the not uncommon misapprehension that "every legend contains a kernel of truth." Some contain no truth whatsoever, as in the instance he cites. Another instance is that of "popess Joan."

An illuminating analogy between oral tradition about past events and public rumor about present ones is pointed out by De Smedt. These are alike in two respects: *first*, numerous witnesses can be cited in their support, all agreeing as to the substance of the report but differing in details; *secondly*, no immediate witnesses can be cited for them. In cases of rumor, especially when it regards happenings in far-away countries, a prudent person will not accept it off-hand but will try as far as circumstances permit to run it to ground. He will seek information from people familiar through residence or travel with the far-away country whence the rumor comes, or from books or other printed sources of information; but in any case he will not permit himself to believe the rumor until after diligent investigation he finds some positive basis of evidence to justify belief.

Direct historical value of legend. An interesting development in recent critical historiography is the higher estimate now placed on tradition as an historical source than was formerly the case. "The historical value of myths and legends . . . is distinctly on the rise again."³ This statement is corroborated by James T. Shotwell and Louise Ropes Loomis: "Undoubtedly the tendency to reject tradition went too far in the nineteenth century. It is now generally agreed that tradition, while losing or distorting the details, very commonly embodies some

historical elements."⁴ The changed attitude of scholars in this regard is due chiefly to the striking confirmation which numerous old and generally questioned traditions received in the last generation or two from archeological research. It is now generally recognized that long-standing tradition or legend can and does frequently carry with it an actual content of historical fact.

Thus, the discoveries of Schliemann and others at Hisarlik and around the site of ancient Troy, together with other archeological finds, have revealed the nucleus of historical fact around which the Homeric poems are woven. Again, references to Athens in Homer (*Odyssey*, XII, 78-81, *Iliad*, II, 546-55) were arbitrarily assumed by the earlier critics to be late interpolations made by the Athenians with a view to enhancing their historical past. But excavations made on the site of Athens have uncovered Mycenaean remains, thus linking up the city with the Homeric age. Still again, the stories told by Herodotus, a traditional target of attack ever since his day, have in nearly all instances where he alleges personal experience in proof of them, received striking confirmation through archeological research. Probably the most interesting of the services thus rendered by archaeology in substantiating old traditions is the case of the great sea-empire of King Minos of Crete as described by Thucydides in his history of the Peloponnesian War (I, 4). As the account seemed to be nothing more than tradition or legend, historians used to reject it as without any basis in fact. But the remarkable excavations conducted in Crete by Sir Arthur Evans towards the close of the last century showed the account in Thucydides to be substantially correct. Remains of various culture-periods of high development were uncovered together with traces of a vast sea-empire belonging to the period 1600-1100 B. C.⁵ Legend can therefore have a direct or explicit historical content.

Indirect historical value of legend. Lanzoni, following De Smedt, distinguishes two types of legend, *mere legends* and *historical legends*. The former have no direct or explicit historical content whatever, the latter have content of this kind in some or other degree. Both types can be of use to the historian by preserving data of value, whether implicitly or explicitly. The legend itself may be pure fiction and at the same time incidentally (or, as the Scholastics say, *praeter intentionem*) picture vividly as well as accurately various phases of a vanquished culture or civilization.

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* set before us Greek military and social life of the heroic age. The *Ramayana* portrays ancient Indian civilization, the *Nibelungenlied* the men and manners of its age, the eleventh and twelfth centuries. As much is done for the Persians by the *Shanamah*, for the Finns by the *Kalevala*, for the Scandinavians by the *Edda*. The stories of Brutus and Coriolanus, however exaggerated, reflect the ideas and spirit of the Romans in the century before Christ. Feudal France survives in the *Chansons de geste*. Spain of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as regards its social life and psychology are mirrored to the life in the *Song of the Cid*.⁶

Recognition of the indirect or implicit historical value of legend is now general among scholars. Lanzoni is

² Charles De Smedt, S. J., *Les Principes de la critique historique* (Liège, 1883). The same author's article in "Historical criticism" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is an excellent summary of the subject.

³ Herodotus, *the fourth, fifth and sixth Books* (London, 1895), p. lxxxii.

⁴ *The See of Peter* (New York, 1927) p. xxiii.

⁵ See *Cambridge Ancient History* (New York, 1924), I, 138 *et seq.*

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

Saint Pius the Fifth

Pedro Leturia

Gregorian University, Rome

Summary: 1. Two great dangers to Christianity in 1565—Constantinople and Geneva. 2. Four aids of the new Pope: a) the higher Italian clergy already largely reformed; b) the Catholic policy and the spiritual life of Spain and Portugal; c) the religious orders; d) the program of Trent. 3. Work of the Pope in the interior reform of the Church: his holiness, permanent institutions, reforming activity. 4. The defense of the Church: Pius V's labors against Calvinism; the Crusade of Lepanto. 5. The tomb of the Pope—a symbol of his life and work.

HEAVY black clouds overhung the Catholic Church when, on December 20, 1565, the Cardinals went into conclave to elect a new Pope, who was to be Saint Pius V. The Lutheran revolt had been given political recognition in the Empire by the Peace of Augsburg on September 25, 1555. Moreover since 1564, the new Emperor, Maximilian II, had displayed marked leanings towards Protestantism.

However, this was not the most serious danger to the Church, since Lutheranism had already shown itself to be a strictly "German phenomenon" that lacked a world-wide appeal. Besides, internal quarrels had weakened Lutheranism. And in spite of his personal inclination to favor the Protestants,¹ the Emperor was bound by many ties to the Catholic traditions of his family and was largely dependent on the political policy pursued by his powerful cousin, Philip II of Spain. Moreover, the Catholic restoration, which was already in progress in Germany under the leadership of St. Peter Canisius and the Dukes of Bavaria, provided another restraining influence on Maximilian II. The most serious threat to Rome lay in the possibility of simultaneous attacks from the two anti-Roman centers of that period—Constantinople and Geneva.

In 1565 the Ottoman peril loomed more menacingly against Rome than ever before. Under the influence of the new Grand Vizier, Mohammed Soquolly, the Sublime Port had, since 1564, adopted new tactics in its campaign against Christianity. Shifting the spearhead of their attack from the Danube and adjacent territories to the Mediterranean sea, the Turks had begun to direct their thrusts against Malta, Sicily and Spain. Once a Turkish fleet had made itself master of the Mediterranean, the Ottoman power would proceed to destroy Christian influence in all of northern Africa, and would lend a willing hand to the Moriscoes of Granada who were already on the point of rebellion. Communication between Spain and Italy by sea would be severed, and the Turks would be able to carry the war into the interior of both the Spanish and Italian peninsulas.²

Clear proof of the new Ottoman strategy was seen in the Turkish attack on Malta in 1565. The panic that

seized Rome at this time can be easily imagined. However, by the time the Conclave convened in December, this ominous threatening cloud had for the moment been dissolved. For the valor of La Valette, and the skill of Don García of Toledo and of Don Alvaro de Bazañ had forced Piali Pasha to weigh anchor for the Orient on September 12, 1565.³ Still the Sacred College of Cardinals was seriously concerned with the danger in the Mediterranean. At this juncture Cardinal Hippolito d'Este, one of the more wealthy members of the Sacred College, placed his private fortune at the disposal of the Conclave. He promised that, in the event the future Pope should fail to ratify the financial disbursements made by the Sacred College for military defense in the Mediterranean, he would meet the obligation out of his own private funds.⁴

The fears at Rome were well founded. Should the Turks attack Sicily and Spain no help would be forthcoming from Venice. Knowing that Venice's source of wealth lay in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Doge of Venice would merely shrug his shoulders at a call for aid from Sicily or Spain. Moreover, at this time a Turkish flotilla, operating in the Western Mediterranean, would find an ally not only in certain disaffected political groups in France (such a procedure had succeeded very well some years earlier in the time of Francis I), but also in the bitterest enemy of Catholicism in the West, Calvinism.

In 1565 Geneva was the Anti-Rome of western Europe. Calvin, who had died just the year before, had left a well-oiled machine for the onslaught against the ancient Church. His democratic theocracy possessed an international appeal, and consequently was much more expansive and likely to spread than Lutheranism. His international University at Geneva (1559) over which Beza presided, and his "Missionary House for the West", supplied Scotland, Holland, England, France, Switzerland and Germany with preachers and proselytizing teachers. In these nations Calvinistic propaganda was already in full swing. Coligny in France was striving to gain complete control of the government and was attempting, for the first time, to transplant Huguenot Calvinism into the New World. For it is worth noting that the expeditions of Ribaut and of de Laudonnière to Florida, had been in progress from 1562 until the days of the Conclave.⁵

Dangers, clearly foreseen by the Church in 1566, were to become even more threatening than had been predicted. For in 1566 Mary Stuart was still reigning in Scotland. Neither had William of Orange nor the Moors of

³ Cf. Roger B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New, IV: Philip the Prudent* (New York, 1934), p. 117 ff.

⁴ Cf. Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste, VIII: Pius V* (Freiburg, in B., 1920), p. 4 ff.

⁵ Cf. Imbart de la Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme, IV: Calvin* (Paris, 1935); Henri Naef, *Les origines de la Réforme à Genève* (Genève, 1936): Merriman, *op. cit.*, p. 167 ff.

¹ Cf. Karl Brandi *Deutsche Reformation und Gegenreformation* (Leipzig, 1927), II, 61 ff.

² Cf. Henri Hauser, *Peuples et Civilisations: IX La Prépondérance espagnole* (Paris, 1933), p. 86 ff.

Granada shown their hand as yet. And at that date, it was still believed in Rome that Elizabeth of England was favorable to the ancient Church.

Aids to Pope: Italian Clergy

At so critical a time the Papacy was not bereft of strong support. More than anything else, there was the fact that most of the *Roman Curia and higher Italian clergy* professed strong Catholic convictions and possessed the true spirit of reform. Proof that these qualities existed can be found in the election to the Roman Pontificate of such a man as Cardinal Ghislieri, an austere Friar and a theologian of strong Catholic traditions. Excluded from the tiara (and not because of pressure on the part of national governments, but solely because of the demands for a thorough Catholic restoration) was such an outstanding Cardinal as Alexander Farnese, nephew of the worthy Paul III, and founder of the "Gesù" or mother-church of the Jesuits. Even a candidate of the type of Cardinal John Marone was passed over by the electors. Cardinal Marone had rendered meritorious service to the Church as Nuncio to Germany, reforming Bishop in Modena and Bologna, and as presiding Legate at the Council of Trent. Yet this co-founder with St. Ignatius Loyola of the Germano-Hungarian college was rejected by the electors because, at an earlier date, he had fallen under suspicion of heresy.⁶ The Conclave was determined to choose only the most perfect candidate. Accordingly, under the decisive influence of a saintly member of the Curia, St. Charles Borromeo, a saintly Pope was elected to the tiara—Saint Pius the Fifth.

The transformation of the Italian episcopacy, which the choice of such a man for Pope presupposes, was brought about by a gradual process of internal improvement born of the innate vitality of the Church. The beneficial sources of this restoration were in operation before Lutheranism had raised its head. The "Oratory of Divine Love" produced those great personalities who instructed St. Charles Borromeo in Italy, and formed the future Fathers of the Council of Trent. The Oratory had been founded at Genoa towards the end of the fifteenth century and had extended its branch-houses to Rome, Naples and Vicenza during the first decades of the sixteenth century.⁷ Saint Pius the Fifth, besides embodying in himself the spirit of the Oratory which had been communicated to him by Pope Paul IV, also personified the reforming spirit of the Dominicans. As early as 1521 the Dominicans were able to oppose Luther with a theologian, a restorer of order, and a papal adviser of such eminence as Cajetan.⁸ Pope Pius V always regarded himself as a product of the holiness and reforming activity of his Dominican Order: "from which Order we ourselves, although altogether unworthy, have drawn all our strength as from a fountain."⁹

Philip II

But besides the restored higher clergy of Italy and the Curia, the new Pope found a second help of even greater importance in the Catholic faith of Philip II and the immense empire he personified. For in spite of disagree-

ments and dissensions with Philip II in questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the management of the incomes of the Church, Pius V leaned heavily on Philip II. The mixing of political interests with the affairs of religion was inevitable in a man who was at once both the leader of Spain and the head of an empire. When Pius V referred to the Spanish King in such expressions as "all Christianity depends on you" or "this Holy See has no other defender", he was not voicing mere empty words but actual facts. On his part, Philip II was deeply concerned with the welfare and interests of Catholicism. He expressed his sincere sentiments to the Provincial Council of Granada in 1568: "Be thoroughly convinced that in everything which affects the true service of God, religion, and the Church, we will neither shun or flee from labor, danger or expense, nor any other human obstacle, but will immediately place our states and person, and, should it be necessary, our life itself at the disposal of the Church."¹⁰

From such sentiments as these the importance of *El Escorial* against Geneva and Constantinople can be readily seen. This importance was political and military. The strategic line of Catholic defense against the offensive thrusts of Geneva and Constantinople began at Messina and ran up through Naples, Milan and Franche Comté to Luxembourg and Flanders. In maintaining this defensive line the Council of the Indies looked on the treasures of the New World as a source of revenue for a new "Crusade".¹¹ The Catholic allies were not divided during these decades (as they were in the seventeenth century) by conflict at Spain's back-door in Portugal. For at this period Portugal was in perfect agreement on the advisability of an anti-Turkish and anti-Huguenot policy.

However, the importance of this defensive solidarity was not exclusively political and military. In referring to those years Gustave Schnürer has recently made a most just observation: "The renewed ecclesiastical vigor [of Spain] can be seen in the many saints of the period who illustrated with new vigor the old ideals of the Church in every phase of life—in the renewal of scholasticism as well as in the practice of charity, and in the mystical life exemplified in a Saint Theresa. At that time anyone who sought political or military help or *intellectual aid* for the Catholic Church turned to Spain. In the universities of Spain an endeavor was being made to deepen the great Weltanschauung synthesis, and to broadcast it in learned works."¹²

The Saints of the period held the same belief. A little before the election of Pius V, St. Charles Borromeo had spoken of the Spanish clergy as "the central nerve of a safe and orthodox Christendom".¹³ The Savoyard Blessed Peter Faber expressed himself in a similar

¹⁰ Cf. these and other texts of the Pope and the King in Pedro Leturia, S. J., "Felipe II y el Pontificado según Don Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga," in *Estudios Eclesiásticos* (Madrid, 1928), pp. 69-70.

¹¹ Cf. Pedro Leturia, S. J., *Der heilige Stuhl und das spanische Patronat in Amerika*, in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft* XVII, (1926), p. 10 ff; Hashagen, *Staat und Kirche vor der Reformation* (Essen, 1931), pp. 26 ff., 135 ff.

¹² Cf. Schnürer *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5; Merriman *op. cit.*, pp. 481-487.

¹³ August 18, 1565. Cf. Pastor *op. cit.*, p. 172, note 4.

(Turn to page fifty-one)

⁶ Pastor *op. cit.*, p. 21 ff.

⁷ Cf. Pio Paschini, *La beneficenza in Italia e le "Compagnie del divino amore" nei primi decenni del Cinquecento* (Roma, 1925).

⁸ Cf. Gustav Schnürer, *Katholische Kirche und Kultur in der Barockzeit* (Paderborn, 1937), p. 45 ff. ⁹ Pastor *op. cit.*, p. 175.

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EDITORIALS

Pius XI

Future generations will have to answer a question which the present generation is asking. Is Pius XI the greatest of the Popes? Philip Hughes, who has given us the finest study to date of the Pontiff,* raises the question, and modestly leaves it half answered. Only Leo XIII among recent popes can compare with Pius XI, we are told (though we still wonder whether Pius X should not be considered comparable to Leo). Pius XI possesses the qualities of the great popes of the Catholic Reformation. Hildebrandine, too, are his vigor and fighting spirit. At least it is high honor to be the object of this, perhaps futile, speculation. Pius XI is close to the heart of the world. His mind and his every movement are known to millions, and more human beings than ever before are aware of his presence and consciously proud of his titanic efforts to save civilization. We hope that many chapters are still to be added to his unfinished biography.

In Pius XI the world beholds a complete man. Mind and will and a rugged frame are coordinated in the discharge of the highest functions to which mortal man can be called. His outlook is essentially and consistently supernatural; yet *nil humani alienum* would be a fitting motto for him. The poor peasant lad who rose by sheer talent has been a tireless worker all his long life. A flawless scholastic record beginning with his all-A grades in the village school and ending with his triple doctorate at the Gregorian tells not of competition with his fellows whom he surpassed with effortless ease, but of a quiet ambition to achieve perfection. No one suspected that the scholarly librarian buried in his manuscripts and ancient tomes and delighting in the company of the world's best minds was a man of action awaiting the call of Providence. The man of books was at the same time a daring Alpinist who scaled the loftiest peaks. He was also a friend of the neglected ragamuffins of Milan, as well as an intensely spiritual director of souls. If it was natural that he should be called to the Vatican Library after his twenty-six years in Milan, it was rather

surprising when he was suddenly converted into a diplomat, and sent off to three arduous years of struggle with the problems of a reborn Poland face to face with the threat of annihilation at the hands of Red Russia. On June 13, 1921, he was made Cardinal and Archbishop of Milan. In a short half-year of active pastoral duties that stood in strong contrast to the quiet life he had led as librarian the last stage in the formation of Achille Ratti was completed. A month before he became pope Cardinal Gasquet pronounced him "the greatest ecclesiastical personality in Italy."

The program of Pius XI can be reduced to very simple terms. It has been reduced to very simple terms. In his first great encyclical he laid bare the root of all the evils in a distracted civilization. "It was," he said, "apostasy from God." God had been driven out of public life, out of the family, out of education. The aim of the Pope was to restore the social reign of Christ. To this purpose he devoted a special encyclical, his *Quas primas*. Asked what the policy of the Vatican was, Cardinal Merry del Val answered quite correctly: the New Testament. "For or against God," Pius later wrote, "this is the alternative that shall decide the destinies of mankind." In politics, business, social life and education he saw futility and disaster because men and nations had turned their backs upon the Creator.

Pius XI wishes to be known as the "Pope of the Missions." He is also the Pope of Catholic Action, of social justice, of the social reign of Christ, of the priesthood, of the laity. But through all his activities runs the supernatural strain. If there is chaos around him, his own mind is perfectly clear. He once rejoiced that his lot was cast in a critical epoch. By natural temper he exults in a fight. Against the world forces that oppose him, against the powers of Darkness he launches a direct frontal attack. But there is no sparing of inconsistent, pharisaical Catholics. He will suffer no degrading of Catholic Action to the level of politics. He condemns the subordination of religion to material ends. Because his eye is single he sees the course he must travel. Because his heart is fearless he is not likely to swerve to the right or the left. He has been charged with autocratic methods. His strength of character, his uncompro-

* *Pope Pius the Eleventh*, by Philip Hughes. Sheed & Ward. New York. pp. x and 318. \$3.00.

mising stand on truth and justice, and his readiness to assume full responsibility for his acts lend some color to the charge. The source from which it emanates explains the rest. He has been accused of mistaken policy in his attitude toward Germany, Mexico and Abyssinia. His accusers, however sincere, move in the clouds; the vision of the Pope sweeps the clear space above them.

A recent author who boasts his inside contacts with the workings of papal politics has given us a journalese hash of pontifical pronouncements on dangerous tendencies in the Vatican. This author assures us he is a Catholic, but his book reveals a bourgeois mind unable to distinguish between the Catholic Church and a merely human organization like the British Empire or the Standard Oil Company. Lest this semi-cryptic allusion mislead the reader, we hasten to point out the striking contrast between the myopic "Catholic," William Teeling, and the much more satisfactory non-Catholic author of *A Reporter at the Papal Court*. Superior to either of them is Philip Hughes, whose *Pius XI* shows remarkable understanding of what the Vicar of Christ should be—and is.

The Convention

The 1937 Christmas Week convention of the A. H. A. was disappointing. It met in historic Philadelphia, the attendance was the largest ever, and the program, in keeping with the Sesquicentennial of the Constitution, was well coordinated. But precisely those features of the occasion which should have contributed to its success actually made it less satisfactory than a dozen other conventions we can recall. The crowd was unwieldy, the quarters were cramped and discussion of the Constitution was often insipid. On the other hand, we were spared what is likely to be the greatest disappointment on such occasions. The ravings of several speakers were irritating enough to arouse editorial indignation, which is some compensation for enduring the duller moments of any meeting. Of course, it was always possible to find a pleasant corner away from the milling throng, and there were brighter moments in the three days. The Catholic Historical Association, for example, handled its well-attended sessions and presented a program comparable to the best it has done in former years with the usual easy calm which betrays the forethought of its secretary.

It is always amusing to watch the newspaper reporting of a learned convention. Charles A. Beard received considerable publicity for his already aging economic interpretation of the Constitution. His main contention is quite acceptable. The Constitution makers did look to their future material well-being. But we don't like to hear that "economic interests are among the *deterministic* features of history." And we wonder what is implied in his refusal "to recognize any one as possessing a monopoly of divine revelation." At any rate, here are two items that most newspapers will print: an exaltation of economics and an attack upon the Church. The same column which carries the remarks of Dr. Beard gives much space to an Erastian plea for subordination of the Church (of England) and of canon law to the State, and this in the name of "spiritual liberty." So much, ap-

parently, do the papers like an attack, even upon themselves, that they were very generous in reporting Father Joseph F. Thorning's exposure of their one-sided news about Spain. Or was this merely a late reparation for the harm they have done?

For his presidential address Guy Stanton Ford offered in a fatherly tone, but withal modestly, "Some Suggestions to American Historians." He urged them to study the European scene since 1787, in other words the history which parallels our own national growth. Touching lightly on several topics, he pointed to the *noblesse oblige* of the Old Régime. The Individualism and laissez faire, which were indigenous in America and securely rooted in the emotional life of the Frontier, had to contend in Europe with an upper class which refused to admit that wealth gives or justifies power over the destinies of human beings. From the "extreme individualism typical of our national thought and polity since the eighteenth century" we are turning to a new "social awareness." All this was good history, and some of it was duly commented upon by the newspapers.

Charles H. McIlwain, as usual, helped to raise the level of excellence. "The whole history of the past," he contended, ". . . shows the necessity of legal limitations." Only by curbing liberty can the reaction toward despotism be avoided. More vigorous in his denunciation of the abuses of Liberalism was Gaetano Salvemini, who castigated the folly of invoking eighteenth century political formulae to justify modern big business. The thinkers of a century and a half ago, he insisted, would have regarded the modern Capitalist as "a caprice of nature." All in all, there was evidence of thinking of a high order during the convention. But the fact remains that a program centered round the Constitution called forth altogether too much pseudo-philosophizing.

The editor of the BULLETIN has been urged to change its format and increase its volume. Much as he would like to follow this friendly counsel, he has visions of a hundred filing cases into which the BULLETIN now nestles quite snugly, and he has other visions of unpaid debts which may be the result of imprudent expansion.

Lack of space in the present issue forces us to hold over several articles already linotyped. Our biggest regret is that only a fraction of Father Leturia's scholarly study of Pius V is here published. We were fortunate in receiving this interpretation of a misunderstood Saint from the pen of an eminent historian as a conclusion of our symposium on the Great Popes. We were unfortunate in our selection of translators until Mr. W. Patrick Donnelly, S. J., undertook the task. It will be a simple matter for our readers to combine the parts when the major portion of the article appears two months hence.

We are proud of our Book Reviews. But again, lack of space cripples the best of intentions. We must not, however, fail to promote a good cause by recommending Father Charles Corcoran's BLACKROBE (Bruce, Milwaukee). High School boys, in particular, are reading this tale of adventure with Père Marquette on the Mississippi. It is a wholesome book. It is historical. And it should be widely known.

Saint Louis, the Just King

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COUNT DE MONTALEMBERT writes eloquently in his celebrated comparison of Saint Louis with Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. He dwells on that "boundless sympathy for the passion of a God made man which sent Saint Louis twice under the banner of the Cross to seek death and captivity in Africa; that longing for a better life which made him struggle against his friends and family to abdicate the crown and hide his royalty under the monastic habit; that respect for poverty which made him kiss the hand of everyone to whom he gave alms; his abundant tears, his sweet familiarity with Joinville, and even his conjugal tenderness."

In this paper devoted to one of the great, perhaps the greatest, Christian layman of the Middle Ages, special emphasis is given to the manifestation of the same "boundless sympathy" through the king's lifelong dedication to holy justice. King Louis IX. of France is the Just King par excellence. Every royal act, as well as every personal activity, constitutes and breathes forth a prayer from his heart.

In the life of Saint Louis we may note two principal ways in which he propagated justice. There is what may generically be called the "personalist" way, more properly and most perfectly the way of the Saint, which is expressed by direct personal participation in the dispensation of justice. There is, besides, the *institutional way*, which consists in the establishment of an orderly and sound procedure conducive to perpetuating justice in a realm.

The paramount necessity of combining the personalist approach and institutionalist establishments is admirably exemplified in the life and work of King Louis IX. The resulting fusion I would designate Christian Democracy, (in the sense expressly defined by Pope Leo XIII. in "Gravis de Communi").

Saint Louis enjoyed the spirit of holy justice in abundance if ever a king did. Who does not recall from the quaintly vigorous pages of Joinville the story of the fatherly sovereign sitting under the tree at Vincennes and like a true servant of the people ministering justice to all who came near? This most famous example of innumerable acts of this kind, this personal participation in the work of justice, this living of the way of the just man, is the ideal of the personalist.

As M. Sepet tells us,

In the conception of the kingship, as it existed in the Middle Ages, the quality of sovereign judge was inherent in the person of the monarch, and when he delegated this essential part of his rights and duty to magistrates appointed by him, he by no means renounced the right of exercising it in person when it seemed good to him.¹

To Saint Louis it seemed good habitually to go forth and ask "Is there any one here who has a cause?" There can be no doubt that the spirit of justice of Saint Louis engendered a monument of love and loyalty to the royal house in the hearts of the people of France. The story, historically true, became a legend and salved the heart in

later days of brutal injustice. So there is wisdom in the words of Saint Thomas: "Therefore it is no easy task to shake the government of a prince whom the people so unanimously love."² Yet when all is said and done the tragedy of the personalist or saintly or heroic spirit of justice is that it flames up in the soul of the saintly man, kindles at awe-inspiring moments in the heart of the man of good-will, but flickers to ash in the worldly man.

The theme of vanity in all earthly things in *Ecclesiastes* finds new verification in the dynasty of Louis IX. Not even Saint Louis was able to perpetuate the spirit of justice in all of its Christian amplitude in his royal house for very long, at least in those who wore the crown. His son, Philip III, was a fairly good man, pious and conscientious enough about affairs of government, but nothing like his father. The grandson of the saint, Philip IV., began thirty years after his death, to undo his work. Philip the Fair was worldly and ambitious. A few years after his grandfather was canonized by Pope Boniface VIII, he insulted the same Pontiff at Anagni. He did everything in his power to subjugate Church to State. And now the king no longer went out under the tree to hear any man who had a "cause."

Fortunately for France, King Louis did not confine himself to administering justice personally, and his work did not die with him or with those who enjoyed personal knowledge of him. His achievement as king includes the establishment of a very thorough and orderly legal and administrative system, based of a certainty on the spirit of justice and so designed that it guaranteed just results as well as any human institution well-planned and rightly conceived and unselfishly propagated could do.

The cardinal points of the great ordinance of 1254 that reorganized the administration of justice are as follows: All government officials were required by oath (1) to grant justice to all, (2) to guard loyally the royal rents and domains, (3) to punish all who robbed or abused their offices, (4) to take no bribes, not to purchase lands under their care, not to have too many assistants . . .³

Joinville commemorates the happy results of this ordinance:

In a short time the population increased so much throughout the realm, from the justness and uprightness that reigned, that the estates, rents and revenues of the kingdom were nearly doubled in one year, and the country was very much improved.⁴

The most famous and significant phases of the king's justice are the Restitution of 1247, the decree of 1254, and the ordinances of 1256, 1260 and 1263. In 1247 before he set out for his first crusade Louis IX. made an unprecedented act of restitution. He commanded that all of his people who had been maltreated or despoiled by royal officers for almost half a century back, even in the reign of his grandfather, should be amply indemnified.

² St. Thomas Aquinas, *De Regimine Principum*, translation by Fr. G. Phelan, Toronto, 1935. p. 82.

³ Cf. Sepet, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-197. Emil Reich, *Select Documents Illustrating Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 458-468. W. E. Brown, *The Achievement of the Middle Ages*, "Development of the reign of law," pp. 46-121.

⁴ Joinville, *Chronicle of St. Louis*, p. 523.

¹ M. Sepet, *Saint Louis*, p. 171.

The important decree of 1254 rectified the grievous wrongs unearthed by the restitution. Good provosts and bailiffs were put in place of the venal officers who had bled the peasantry white. In Paris, for instance, the excellent provost Stephen Boileau performed his duties so well that the plague of desperadoes in the city disappeared as if by magic.

Other important ordinances provided for closer-knit administrative functions, the appointment of magistrates and the important monetary reform. By these and other acts Saint Louis codified and solidified all the establishments needed for the proper governance of his dominions.

The immense reconstruction of the legal and administrative functions so briefly indicated represents an imperishable monument to the memory of Saint Louis no less than his far more dramatic personal dispensation under the tree. It required moreover numerous wearisome hours of self-sacrificing toil, that might be well called personal activity, since it required that which is proper to the person, intellectual activity. The serious study of Christian theology and philosophy that is so noteworthy a characteristic of the king availed here to impart a sound ethical orientation to the work.

What was the result of this accomplishment of saintly statesmanship? Oddly enough, by this means, it may safely be observed, Saint Louis perpetuated justice far longer than he did by the simply and immediately personal method. The legal administration he perfected, rather than inaugurated, (for historically the roots go much further back and certainly his grandfather Philip Augustus did a good deal in this direction) is the culmination of the corporate work of kings. It endured over five hundred years in a more or less intact form, and persists in many less overt ways to this day. It is true that the informing spirit of Saint Louis was dissipated considerably under later monarchs. There was always a struggle between his real justice and the spurious sort symbolized by Philip the Fair. However, this much is true that the people of France could always be sure of a certain modicum of justice under the code set up by Louis, weighted as it was heavily on behalf of the people and the common good. Whether later monarchs realized it or not, the strength possessed by the monarchy was in good measure due to the peaceful satisfaction produced by this consistent carrying out of justice in innumerable bailiwicks throughout the land. Historians like Sepet, Berger, Wallon, Lecoy de la Marche bring out this indebtedness forcibly.

In this way, then, good King Louis handed down his love of justice. It is heartening indeed to meditate on the uncountable acts of justice posited centuries after his earthly death in which he had a very real personal hand. After all, the institutions solidified are a way of extending personality to men beyond immediate reach in space and time.

No one could reasonably say, in view of this larger-range work of the king that the personal dispensation of justice on his part has merely limited and poetic significance, perhaps most valuable as an inspiring example. On the contrary these things are of paramount importance, in themselves as personal actions more inestimable, noble, ideal and beneficent. In itself inspiration is al-

ways greater than mere system. System must be vitalized by spirit. Nevertheless in the larger and more permanent interests of human affairs, spirit alone is not sufficient to guarantee the common good. For not every king is a Saint Louis. And in the inevitable slack moments—historically or individually—there must be some reliable way of carrying on. That way is order.

Again, as a king Saint Louis was responsible not only for the people contemporary with him, but for generations unborn. And since he had a burning love of justice and could not be too sure that his own successors would do the right thing, he endeavored to transmit the benefits of his justice to all. In his message to his son, reminiscent of the sage counsels of the Sapiential Books, he brings this out:

Dear son, if you come to reign, do that which befits a king, that is, be so just as to deviate in nothing from justice . . . If a poor man goes to law with one who is rich, support the poor rather than the rich man until you know the truth, and when the truth is known, do that which is just . . . And if you find that you possess anything unjustly acquired, either in your time or in that of your predecessors, make restitution at once . . .⁵

If we were treating here of the charity as well as the justice of King Saint Louis, we could bring out similarly how he desired to communicate the bounty of his love not only to those whom he could reach near at hand but those of his people yet to come. He instituted numerous hospitals, such as those at St. Honoré, Vernon, Pontoise, Compiègne, and other charitable establishments. During his lifetime, the confessor of Queen Margaret tells us, the king went to the hospitals and "tended in person those who lay therein". In the most unhappy wretches the saintly king discovered the image of Christ the King. But this is a story by itself.

What above all makes Saint Louis truly the great Christian layman? He is a great layman because in a large sense he is a Christian Personalist, a Christian Solidarist, and a Christian Democrat.

Saint Louis is a Christian Personalist in the sense that he dedicated his kingship and his kingdom to the preservation and the perfection of a civilization wherein the supreme dignity of the Christian person is recognized and defended under the special suzerainty of Christ, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, and the King.

Saint Louis is a Christian Solidarist in the sense that, in accordance with the historical exigencies of his age, he was the authoritative upholder and vivifier of a social system making valid the amalgamation of men as such, and championing the full development of a legally well-arranged, co-operative, corporate association according to rank and vocation.⁶

Saint Louis is a Christian Democrat in the sense that he gave himself to "beneficent Christian action on behalf of the people", and held that human society should have that form and character imprinted upon it by God and for its foundations those principles laid down by divine faith.⁷

These appellatives are very meaningful for us today, and while as names they were coined centuries after the

⁵ Sepet, M., *op cit.*, pp. 164-165.

⁶ Cf. Von Nell-Breuning, *Reorganization of Social Economy*, p. 208, for definition of Christian Solidarism.

⁷ Leo XIII., Encyclical "Gravis de Communi." p. 172, in *Pope and the People*, Catholic Truth Society. 1929.

career of the king, they do not distort the historical position in the light of which Saint Louis must be viewed. Rather they focus brightly upon his kingship and bring out its significance in this true historical perspective. And after all they are simply ways of emphasizing truths as old and as new as the gospel.

But pre-eminently Saint Louis is a great Christian layman because he is the Saint of Justice. It pertains to the office of a king not simply to govern but to govern justly. For, as Saint Thomas teaches, if a king govern unjustly, he is not truly a king, but a tyrant.⁸ Further, the "greatness of kingly virtue also appears in this that he bears a special likeness to God, since he acts in his kingdom as God in the world."⁹

Saint Louis, therefore, is pre-eminently the Saint of Justice. Justice is his secret, his message, his legacy, his glory, his special name. He teaches us today that the important thing in social rebuilding is to dispense justice to as many fellow men as possible. It may be done by personal action or by an established procedure. The ideal thing is for the personal spirit to radiate through the ordained institution. But whether it be spirit or order, or spirit through order, the essential requirement is to give every man his due through the motivating power of charity. His triumph in this vocation of vocations makes Saint Louis (who might also be celebrated and emulated as father, husband, knight, man of prayer) most worthy of emulation for those who aspire to participate vitally in the apostolate of the laity and to contribute positively to the historical movement of our time.

⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 40, et *passim*.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 75.

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Saint Pius the Fifth

(Continued from page forty-six)

fashion, some years earlier, on entering Spain: "I am pleasantly surprised at the wonderful prospect which Spain offers as a model of procedure in all spiritual affairs."¹⁴ And speaking of both Spain and Portugal Saint Ignatius Loyola said: "In both of these [kingdoms] it seems that Our Lord manifests His glory as conspicuously as in other countries He conceals it."¹⁵

As we have already pointed out in the case of the higher Italian clergy, so also in Spain and Portugal, this Catholic restoration proceeded from reforming trends that were anterior to Protestantism. During the years the new surge of vitality prepared and paralleled the work of the Council of Trent, heretical assaults forced it to fashion its course along somewhat severe and polemical lines. But as far back as the time of Isabella the Catholic and Cisneros it had begun the work of welding medieval theology and the modern revival into a harmonious unity; it had begun to lay the foundation for the asceticism of Saint Ignatius, and had prepared the way for the mysticism of Osuna and St. Theresa; it had manifested itself in the politico-ecclesiastical organization that was set up in the New World. In a word, during this Catholic Restoration was formed a national ideal, that would inspire a World Crusade against the Crescent and Protestantism.¹⁶

It is precisely from this inner source, antedating both Luther and Calvin, that the unique character of "Spanish Regalism" was largely derived. It was a regalism that seriously menaced the concord and harmonious relations between Pius V and Philip II. The Spanish King and nation looked on the ecclesiastical institutions, founded or functioning under the Catholic King Ferdinand and Isabella, as a glorious and irrevocable patrimony. And they could not, or would not believe that certain practices and methods, understandable formerly under a Sixtus

¹⁴ Cf. Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, I (Madrid, 1902), p. 235.

¹⁵ In *MHSI (Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu)*, "S. Ignatii epistolae et Instructiones" I, p. 245.

¹⁶ For proof, see Schnürer, *op cit.*, p. 5 ff., 13 ff.

IV or an Alexander VI, were altogether out of place in the reign of a Pius V or a Gregory XIII. The Spanish Ambassador at Rome, Don Luis de Requesens, perceived this very clearly when in 1566 he wrote of the Spaniards that "they want to treat all the pontificates in the same fashion, and want to manage affairs under a saintly Pontiff with even less consideration, than in the pontificates of Popes who were demons."¹⁷

Religious Orders

A third auxiliary to Pius V in the work of restoration, of great importance because less mixed with national and political considerations, were the various long-established *Mendicant Orders*, beginning with his own Dominican Order. Equally helpful were the *Clerks Regular*, above all the Society of Jesus.

Von Pastor has very aptly pointed out that the frequent references of Pius V to his own Dominican Order all go to demonstrate that the Pontiff believed that there was scarcely anything in the Order of Preachers in need of reform.¹⁸ And the modern historian of the Dominicans is of the opinion that the examination of documentary evidence points to the same conclusion: "From whence it is evident that at the close of the Middle Ages the Order of Preachers, for the most part, had not lost their primitive spirit, but rather had increased and augmented it."¹⁹

Perhaps it would be going too far to extend this judgment to all Provinces and to all Nations, and even more so to generalize this judgment in such a way as to make it apply to all religious Orders. For the Council of Trent and Pius V himself found it necessary to abolish or amend many practices in the religious Orders.²⁰ But the glorious and fruitful role that the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians had taken in the Council of Trent and their astounding labors in the missions of America, before and during the time of the Council, afford ample evidence that their restoration and renewed activity were in progress some decades before this time. This was especially true in the Netherlands, Italy and Spain, and in the missions of America. With good reason, therefore, could Fray Luis de Carvajal as early as 1528 point out this fact to Erasmus in his *Apologia of the Monastic religious life, refuting the trifling objections of Erasmus*. And the year before, in 1527, the Benedictine Fray Alonso de Virues, who was a good friend of the humanist author of the *Enchiridion*, reminded Erasmus that not only did the religious Orders number "a goodly number of worthy and excellent men, true lovers of wisdom and imitators of evangelic simplicity," but that they would enjoy a span of existence much longer than himself. "You must perceive," he wrote, "that although you have lived a long time, your life is now drawing to a close; yet the Monastic Orders march on—they will never die."²¹

The interesting factor in this process of revivification and flowering of the Benedictines and Mendicants of Italy and Spain is not so much that the process began before Luther appeared on the Protestant stage, but that the movement took its origin from the inner vitality of the Church itself. To convince oneself of this fact, it is only necessary to read the lives and works of such men as the Benedictine Don Garcia de Cisneros, the Dominicans Cajetan and Domingo Soto, the Franciscans Fray Pedro de Gant and Juan de Zumárraga, and the Augustinians Fray Jeronimo Seripando and Saint Thomas of Villanova. The Protestant threat imparted a new impetus to the movement, but the process itself (above all in Italy and Spain) proceeded from earlier internal reforms.²²

This truth is all the more important since, in many respects, the same judgment ought to be extended to take in even the newer Orders of Theatines, Capuchins and Jesuits. It is a remarkable fact, but one that is generally acknowledged today, in explaining the origins and spirit of the "Oratorians of Divine Love", as well as the beginnings of the "Hospitalers of Incurables" in Italy. The factors that brought the Theatines into existence, and in large part the Capuchins also, force us to the same conclusion.²³ And the very same conclusion is equally applicable to the origin of the Society of Jesus. For the Company of Jesus was by no means formed, either exclusively or principally, to repel the attacks that arose from the Protestant Revolt.

The pristine ideal of Ignatius Loyola, the ideal that converted him, that produced the Spiritual Exercises and united his first companions, was an ideal of personal interior reform, crowned and adorned by the practice of personal devotion to Christ the Savior, and apostolic labor for the conversion of the infidels by a spiritual crusade to distant Palestine. After this purpose, clearly discernible at Manresa (1522) and at Montmartre (1534), had been transformed at Paris, at Venice and at Rome into a plan of wider scope, it was still by no means limited to an enterprise to check and hurl back the incursions of Protestantism. Side by side with this new objective, the Company of Jesus aimed with equal and perhaps even greater energy at the revival of Christian life within the Church, and the spread of Christianity among the Turks and infidels of both hemispheres.²⁴ It is worth noting, in this connection, that Saint Francis Xavier and Saint Francis Borgia are as typical of the Ignatian ideal as is St. Peter Canisius.

²² Cf. Gustav Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter*, III (Paderborn, 1929), p. 412 ff.; Pedro Leturia, S. J., "Pastor, España y los orígenes de la Restauración católica" in *Razón y Fe* 85 (Madrid, 1928), pp. 141 ff., 154; cf. also: "Al reanudarse la versión de la Historia de los Papas del Dr. Pastor," in *Estudios eclesiásticos VIII* (1929), p. 98 ff.

²³ Cf. Pio Paschini, S. Caetano Thiene, Gian Pietro Carafa e le origini dei Chierici Regolari Teatini (Roma, 1926). We await the publication of the doctoral dissertation (Gregorian University) of Father Cassiano da Langasco, O. M. Cap., *Un Istituto della Restaurazione cattolica: Gli Hospitalia Pauperum Infirmorum incurabilium*, Roma 1936.

²⁴ Cf. Pedro Leturia, S. J., *Apuntes ignacianos* (Madrid, 1930), pp. 81 ff.

¹⁷ Cf. this and other texts in *Estudios eclesiásticos VII* (1928), p. 64 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. Pastor, *op cit.*, p. 198.

¹⁹ Cf. A. M. Wallz, O. P., *Compendium Historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Romae, 1930), pp. 53, 257 ff.

²⁰ Cf. Pietro Tacchi Venturi, S. J., *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, I 2a. edit. (Roma, 1932), pp. 46 ff., 176 ff.

²¹ These and other texts, though with biased commentary, against Orders in Marcel Battallion, Prologue to: *Erasmus, El Enchiridion o Manual del caballero cristiano*, edición de Dámaso Alonso, (Madrid, 1932) pp. 54-55, 43.

Questioning in History Teaching

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Brooklyn, New York

QUESTIONING of any kind is at once an art and a science, at least in the sense of a technique, and its principles naturally will vary with the field. In so complex and difficult a study as history, which deals with the record of the actions of men in society, we must expect the art and the science to be equally difficult. As has often been pointed out, the teaching of history is a matter of one's philosophy of life no less than of one's philosophy of history. Consequently, the framing of questions in history is conditioned by these two philosophies. I would go further and include also a philosophy of human nature. In looking over the aims set forth in a New York City syllabus on Modern European History, we note that no less than three aims out of seven imply a philosophy of life; in another syllabus on American history a sub-stratum of both a philosophy of life and a philosophy of human nature is easily discernible. We need no apology for assuming that no satisfactory principles for questioning can be drawn up without agreement on the fundamentals of such philosophies. A little reflection on the nature of history will provide sufficient proof for this.

Is not the reason for studying history this: to enable one to interpret social phenomena, and to prepare him to apply experience and initiate action? If man were not capable of this, what sense would there be in studying anything whatsoever? On this assumption in regard to the nature of man we can apply the fruits of experience, but only an adequate philosophy of life can save this application from succumbing to the merely pragmatic in which action will become stereotyped and finally stultified.

The subject matter of history is extremely complex. Our first task in making it manageable is to reduce the material to its constituent elements. What is it we study when we study history? It is fairly obvious that we study men, at least the leaders, their ideas and the influence of these in so far as they determine the actions and life of men in society and produce events, the record of which we call history. We proceed to examine this influence and its results in order to criticize them, to evaluate them and to place them in their proper perspective and proportion. The selection and organization of this material from the vast fund of possible data constitute the eternal problem of history, and contribute an undying fascination to the dusty records of the past. Each generation is anxious to make its own synthesis and to offer its own solution based upon its chosen philosophy of life. And whether we reflect upon the wise and sarcastic summaries of the Old Testament, the musings of Thucydides, the splendid imagination of the *City of God*, the stern denunciations of Tacitus, the eloquence of Bossuet or the visionings of Hegel, we perceive a philosophy of life behind each one of them.

For the purpose of this paper, it is not necessary to develop the concept of a philosophy of life and of human nature beyond the general statement that the normal man as a human being, an individual and a person, thinks,

passes judgment, acts and is responsible for his actions. This basic fact accounts for the great variety of cultures which the panorama of history presents for our study. The mere thought of this great variety would induce a paralysis of action were it not for the further fact that through them all we can trace a certain basic pattern, the product of certain basic ideas. We are impressed by the equally common fact that when these basic ideas or patterns are interfered with, thwarted or set aside, disaster follows, unless such interference is delicately adjusted and is indeed a development of the core of truth in each one. Such change and development is acceptable to normal man and is explainable only on his equally normal passion for justice in so far as his intellect can absorb its principles.

Justice is the social virtue above all other virtues. The search for this links together all the varied cultures, products of the actions of man, into an intelligible whole. As we analyse each one we discover that what man is endeavoring to obtain is justice. The ideal may be obscured as in the Ainus of Japan, corrupted as with the Indians of Cumaná, faded as among the Incas of Peru, distorted as among the Russians; nevertheless an ideal of justice is everywhere to be recognized. From this we deduce that for our questioning in history the principle which we may select from a philosophy of life, is a standard of justice. I do not say peace for peace is impossible without justice. Our questioning then in history should advance the pupils in the ability to discern what is social justice, to arouse their interest, enthusiasm and determination to secure it for their generation in so far as this is possible here on earth.

Coming now to the specific problem, history as recorded professionally is a process of the verification of facts, their selection, arrangement, organization, description and interpretation until we arrive at a body of related knowledge. It is both a science and an art, not however, a science in the sense that chemistry or biology is a science. But it is a science in that it is critical. The facts of history are not just anybody's facts. They are facts which have actually happened, and unless these can be ascertained with reasonable accuracy, they are not facts for history. To initiate the pupils into this technique is possible for even high school classes. For example an historical source might be quoted, followed by a passage from a professional historian and one from a text book on the same topic, and the pupil be asked to criticize the last two passages in the light of the source. The pupil should be awakened to some consciousness of historical evidence, source materials, and the technique of the professional historians.

Secondly, the facts selected for investigation and study should be important and the pupil should be led to develop some skill in separating the relevant from the irrelevant, and to distinguish between a mass of interesting, not to say fascinating details and the important facts from the

point of view of long range influence. To telescope history, as is so fashionable today, is not historical. To emphasize facts at the expense of causality and relationships is to impart mere information. For example, the important point about democratic movement in nineteenth century England is not that between 1832 and 1928 almost universal suffrage had been attained, but that between 1832 and 1928 the majority of the English people were under the impression that a mechanical device like the suffrage necessarily implied democracy. The English people were influenced by ideas and viewpoints, hangovers from certain developments in the physical sciences of the seventeenth century widening into the ideas of Rousseau which in turn have produced the present disillusionment with the parliamentary system. Leaders adopting other ideas would have led to other results.

Thirdly, differences revealed by history as well as likenesses should be emphasized from the viewpoint of illuminating different solutions to common problems, bringing out the significance of change both by way of progress and retrogression, and initiating the pupil into the problem of how cultures are transmitted. This is of great importance today since the transmission of cultures is going on before our eyes, as Russia and Germany attest. The importance of chronology should be brought home to the pupil.

Fourthly, our questioning should have the aim of leading the pupil to perceive something of the process of history. Events happen and unfold their results. Just how does this take place? What are the carriers of history? And how do we trace their activity?

Fifthly, we should push our questions further into the realm of interpretation and evaluation. It is important for the pupil to be able to compare, to judge the leaders of the society he studies. His knowledge of human nature must be founded largely on the study of men of the past. To penetrate into the motives and policies of such men as Bismark, Metternich, Disraeli, to explain why they had the influence they had and why they acted as they did, is to employ the type of question that avoids the generalized answer and the over-simplified history.

To sum up this complex interaction of men and events is the final point of the study of history. To frame questions that will initiate pupils into the art of criticizing both men and events in their proper setting, in the unfolding, namely, of that ideal justice which men have pursued through the long tradition of the centuries and to the eternal truth of which they are the living witnesses, often in spite of themselves, is the final purpose of examinations. This tragic story is the subject matter of history, and our questions should include those points which will initiate the pupil into this evaluation and train, not his attitudes, but his judgment. This is the method of history and its principles are the foundation of the art of questioning. In working this out, however, we should be careful not to confuse history with ethics or metaphysics, biology or physics, a common error today.

As for the methodology of questioning, the principles to be followed should aid in drawing the line between a device to save time in marking such as the true-false type, which is legitimate enough in its place, and a device borrowed from another science as, for example, the use of

graphs. The project and the problem are better adapted to the principles of history than the short answer, multiple choice and matching type of questions. In discussing these, however, it should be kept in mind that the teacher of history has to face two realities; the reality of his subject matter and the physical conditions of his teaching. History is not an easy subject; it is not for the dull and the moron mind, but if we have such pupils we must make the best compromise we can in our choice of the type of questions.

It would seem that the ideal type of question for history is the problem, for this forces some of the techniques of the historian on the pupil and throws on him the responsibility of learning. But this does not preclude the other type of questions provided that we keep in mind that they are valuable only as a test of, or a rapid review of the elementary facts. Such facts after all are the A B C of history, and must be learned before the historical work properly so-called can begin. But even these types of questions should be historical, and not call forth mere opinions from the pupil. History deals with ideas primarily as they affect action, and no graph can record the truth or quality of an idea. History is a qualitative not a quantitative study. The graph-filled textbook with its statistical presentation of matter shows the low estate of modern learning. He who has read attentively Keynes' interesting book on Money can never be impressed except to weep with His Holiness the ruin of souls taught by teachers who follow the statistical method.

In conclusion, I may sum up by saying that behind all questioning in history is a philosophy of life as well as of the nature of man and of history; that our questions should be directly related to the principles of these philosophies by reference to the men and the events they influence and are influenced by; that for the immature pupil factual data should be reduced to those with long range rather than with short range influence and results; that the principles of professional history should also be included and that such devices as are used should be selected for their adaptability to history as well as to the mind of the pupil.

The pupil, of course, should have the power of historical intelligence, that is the power to analyse an event or a statement, to weigh evidence and to make a synthesis, to note the presence of a definite philosophy of history or of personal bias. This is what is being tested when we test the results of history teaching. We are not testing the pupil's own philosophy, we are training him. We do not want to know if he thinks Imperialism is an evil or a good. What we want to know as teachers is this: does the pupil possess sufficient historical intelligence to know how to go about judging whether Imperialism is an evil or not? In other words he should be trained to think for himself, which means, paradoxically, that we must indoctrinate him with standards of social justice that have stood the test of time and are objectively valid, but not with the generalized interpretations of the historians. Certainly with the last year of high school (provided the curriculum is properly arranged) he should be introduced to the schools of historians and trained to appreciate and to enjoy the historian as well as the history.

Unless he has this training he will have neither "attitudes" nor thoughts.

And if it be objected that this is all too difficult, that history is too complex to grasp; that standards of social justice are impossible in a changing world, a world in dissolution; that we must maintain an open mind and require our pupils to maintain the same open mind; then of course maintain an open mind, open to receive what the experience of history reveals, the one principle from which so much may be deduced: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's" not to mention the great warning of all history that false prophets are like ravening wolves.

Legend as an Historical Source

(Continued from page forty-four)

especially emphatic on this score. He insists that one who has read of the middle ages, and, in particular, of the medieval Church in the historians only has gone but half-way towards a grasp of the medieval spirit. One must, besides, become familiar with the contemporary Christian legends if there is to be an understanding of the real psychology of medieval folk, their sentiments and ideals, their family and social life, all of which were intimately bound up with the legends.

For an understanding of the history of Rome and the medieval West, the Donation of Constantine is worth more than a hundred chronicles of the period. . . . The celebrated false Isidorian [Decretals] explain better than all the documents of the ninth century the revolution which was going on at that time throughout the organic life of the Gallican church. . . . Moreover, legends that reflect, not the mere imaginings of an individual but the prevailing mentality of an entire *milieu*, give expression to sentiments which the historian cannot afford to neglect. The growth of a legend around a person or event shows the importance attached at the moment to the person or the event. The legend of Theodosius at the feet of Ambrose on the floor of a basilica in Milan reveals to us in its glowing colors the importance which Christians rightly attached to this episode (so significant in the history of the relations between the political and the spiritual orders) of a bishop imposing a penance and a guilty emperor accepting and performing it. The legends of Theodoric the Great related by St. Gregory the Great and other Italian writers of the sixth and seventh centuries have a place in the king's biography for they reveal the sinister impression which his last deeds made upon the Catholics of Italy.⁷

The Bollandist, Hippolyte Delehaye, S. J., is at one with De Smedt and Lanzoni in contending for the indirect value of legend. "Their [the saints'] life as pictured in the Golden Legend is in truth the concrete realization of the spirit of the Gospel, and from the very fact that it brings home to us this sublime ideal, legend, like poetry, can claim a higher degree of truth than history."⁸ Chesterton comments that people, being denied by the historians any truth that takes the form of legend, are led "to believe in the much more fabulous fable, the legend of the learned."

It is of the essence of Legend that its historical value is not in question. It has not to be believed as witness to an event but as example; or even no more than a picture which does us good by its beauty alone. We are not, in using legend, approving a belief in a particular occurrence, but listening with profit

to a story; and if the moral of the story is sound, if its effect is towards truth, goodness, beauty, that is all we ask of it. Humanity has lived on such stories and when a false philosophy banishes them or lets them die out, humanity is starved. . . . Most legends have history behind them, and take it by and large, there is more history in Legend by far than fantasy."⁹

Belloc probably exaggerates the proportion of *historical* legends to the whole number. De Smedt is of the opinion that the number of mere or *unhistorical* legends is greater than that of *historical* ones.

A standing problem in the criticism of legends as sources for the historian is furnished by Livy, whose numerous stories about the rulers, heroes and patriots of early Rome are classical. The general attitude of modern criticism is to regard these stories as unhistorical, but enclosing in many cases a kernel of truth, "like flies in amber."¹⁰

The difference between myth, legend, folk-lore is discussed by Ruth Bacon.¹¹ "The whirligig of time," she writes, "brings its revenges and the historian of today goes to the tales discarded by his predecessors for a far from contemptible part of his material; folk-lore has become an historical science and mythology is acknowledged to be instructive if not literally true." And Gilbert Murray assures us: "If the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were all fiction, we should still learn from them a great deal about early Greek customs, about practices of war and government, about marriage, land-tenure, worship, farming, commerce, and above all, the methods of sea-faring."¹² The new attitude of scholarship towards legend as an historical source is further elucidated by Lucy Maynard Salmon.¹³

This brief discussion of legend as an historical source may be summarized thus. Some legends have no *direct* historical value at all, as that of the popess Joan; some have such value in greater or less degree, as that of Coriolanus. Legends of either class have or may have an *indirect* historical value in the sense explained. In fine, legend enjoys in contemporary historical scholarship a place of respectability which was denied it a generation or two ago.

⁹ Belloc, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the historicity of the Roman legends see W. W. Howe and H. D. Leigh, *A History of Rome to the Death of Caesar*, (1917), Chap. IV. "The Legends are Whimsical Euhemerisms." See also Ettore Pais, *Ancient Legends of Roman History* (London, 1906); W. Ihne, *Early Rome* (London, 1908); Essay by Edward A. Freeman prefixed to Everyman's Edition of Livy (London, 1910); A. E. R. Boak, *History of Rome to 565 A. D.* (New York, 1929); C. Heitsch, S. J., "The Aeneas Legend" in *HISTORICAL BULLETIN*, VIII, (1930), 27 *et seq.*; Tenney Frank, *Roman History before Caesar* (New York, 1923). For the story of Coriolanus, see *Cambridge Ancient History* (New York, 1928), VII, 498 *et seq.*; E. T. Salmon "Historical Element in the story of Coriolanus," *Classical Quarterly* (XXIX, 1930), 96 *et seq.*: "That the figure of Coriolanus contains a kernel of fact is certain nor is an episode so curious as the invasion of Latium which he directed likely to be pure invention." The legend of St. Christopher from the Golden Legend in Butler—Thurston—Atwater, *The Lives of the Saints* (London, 1935), VII, 358-363. W. Lewis Jones, "The Arthurian Legend" in *Cambridge History of English Literature* (New York, 1933), I, 270-308; H. Thurston, S. J., "The English Legend of St. Joseph of Arimathea" in *The Month* (London), CLVIII (1931), 43 *et seq.*; Mary Hayden and George A. Moonam, *A Short History of the Irish People* (Dublin, 1921), Chap. I, "Mythological and Legendary History"; Andrew Lang, *The World of Homer* (London, 1910), Chap. XVI, "Homer and the Saga."

¹¹ *The Voyage of the Argonauts* (London, 1925), Chap. I.

¹² *Rise of the Greek Epic*.

¹³ *Historical Material* (New York, 1933), Chap. I.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 264-265.

⁸ *The Legends of the Saints* (London, 1907), p. 230. Roy T. Basler, in *The Lincoln Legend: a study in changing conceptions* (Boston, 1935), adopts a similar viewpoint, stressing the educative and ethical uses of legend as illustrated in the case of Lincoln. See also G. K. Chesterton, "On the Truth of Legend," in *All is Grist* (London, 1931), p. 150 *et seq.* Also H. Belloc, "On Legend" in *Essays of a Catholic* (London, 1931), p. 162 *et seq.*

Book Reviews

Insurrection versus Resurrection, by Maisie Ward. New York. Sheed & Ward. 1937. pp. xi + 588. \$3.75.

Maisie Ward's sequel to *The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition* deserves more space than we are giving it here. It should find a place on the shelves of every college library; it should be read by all who are interested in the upsurging vitality of the Church in the twentieth century. The author's two volumes, together with a score or more by her father and mother, reveal the currents and cross currents of Catholic intellectual life in England as it focussed in the day to day life of a remarkable family during three generations. An intimate acquaintance with the Oxford Movement and the Catholic Revival would be helpful, but by no means necessary preparation for the reading of the book under review.

Insurrection versus Resurrection is the story of Catholic thought, running wild in the insidious follies of Modernism, but strong and vigorous and fruitful under the all-pervading inspiration of Newman and the sure guidance of Leo XIII. In it we see Catholics emerge from "the state of siege," during which the deadening influence of purely defensive preaching and teaching stifled the spirit of clergy and laity, into a new dawn of confident and aggressive Catholic action. The author is quite convinced that Saints living the supernatural life are more important than intellectuals talking or writing about it. And she finds consolation, as do we all, in the new popularity of the Mystical Christ and all that is implied in that doctrine.

R. CORRIGAN.

The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America, by Louise Callan, Ph. D. Longmans, Green and Co. New York. 1937. pp. xvii + 809. \$5.00.

Revolutions are destructive movements, but by way of reaction or remedy good is often born of them. It was the evils consequent on the French Revolution that determined Madeleine Sophie Barat to establish a new religious society in order to re-ignite the light of truth for the womanhood of France. An ardent devotion to the heart of Christ gave to the work its peculiar character. In 1801 the first convent of the Society of the Sacred Heart was opened at Amiens. Some fifteen years later, Mgr. Du Bourg, Bishop of Louisiana, traveled through Europe seeking religious women who would take their place on the American frontier to aid in the establishment of Catholic life among the ever-increasing population of his vast diocese of the valley of the Mississippi. It was in answer to his call that Mother Duchesne and her four companions came to America and established the first convent of the Society in the new world at St. Charles, Missouri. From St. Charles other early foundations took root, in St. Louis, in Louisiana, and among the Pottawatomie tribes of eastern Kansas. Time passed, and with its passing the Society constantly grew until the present time, when its members have charge of thirty-three important educational institutions in the United States and Canada.

That the Society of the Sacred Heart has been an important factor in the development of Catholic culture in America is quite generally known. The depth and extent of its influence as well as the motivation behind its zealous pursuit of lofty ideals can, perhaps, best be realized by a careful study of Mother Callan's work. This is an exhaustive treatment, well documented, and at the same time presented in a very agreeable and fascinating way. Too often the bogey of "scholarship" robs a work of every quality except heaviness. No such charge can be brought against this book. Its pages teem with vivid detail, interesting to the lay reader scarcely less than to the religious. Historians, too, will find in this history glimpses of many outstanding characters of America's past at once enlightening and original.

J. BOYLE.

Victoria's Guardian Angel, by Pierre Crabitès. New York. E. P. Dutton and Co. 1938. pp. 289. \$3.00.

Victoria's Guardian Angel was Baron Stockmar. This German doctor was introduced to the English royal household as physician-in-ordinary to Prince Leopold, the husband of Princess Charlotte and later King of the Belgians. Since Leopold acted as a generous uncle in Victoria's early years Stockmar became known to her as "the intimate friend of her benefactor." The author contends, in the words of Victoria herself, writing nothing but good of the dead, that to him "my Angel [the Prince Consort]

looked for advice and support, . . . now that my darling is no longer with us, I cling more and more than ever to him and look to him for advice and assistance in so many, many ways . . ." Beyond this Professor Crabitès holds that the English monarchy had sunk to such a low moral ebb that the very institution of monarchy was endangered. It was Stockmar who saved that institution for Great Britain by encouraging Victoria to adhere to those narrow paths which have earned for her régime in a later and less moral age the epithet Victorian. He examined the suitability of Prince Albert for the hand of Victoria, gave his approval, qualified by some doubts as to his physical fitness, helped to round out his education, assisted him in assuming his proper place in the royal household, and stood constantly and almost invisibly behind the royal couple in every crisis that arose.

Such a thesis runs counter to the accepted opinion of Victoria as a woman with a will of her own. Her mother, writing in 1830, thought that she exhibited "a readiness in coming to a very just and benignant decision on any point her opinion is asked on," and A. C. Benson says that as early as 1837 "she had a strong sense of duty and dignity."

The book is based on the *Denkwürdigkeiten* of Stockmar, the letters of the Queen and other contemporary letters and diaries. It is extremely readable and should not be neglected by those who would understand the Victorian Age. H. H. COULSON.

Rome and the Neapolitan Revolution of 1820-1821, by Joseph H. Brady. New York. Columbia University Press. 1937. pp. 201. \$2.50.

In July, 1820, a bloodless revolution transformed the Bourbon Kingdom of Naples into a "Liberal" constitutional state. The revolution owed its short-lived triumph to the weakness of the government, the plotting of the *Carbonari* and, remotely, to the spirit of unrest bequeathed by the armies of Napoleon. The student of history will recall the disturbance as a mere incident in the Era of Metternich. It had little popular support, and collapsed before the advance of the Austrian army. Metternich, with the approval of all the Powers including England, restored the *status quo* with little difficulty.

The monograph under review deals with the masterful diplomacy of Cardinal Consalvi, the papal secretary. In the very correct attitude of Rome lies the major significance of the whole affair. The situation was complicated by the fact that Pius VII was at once Head of the Church and Ruler of a nearby state. He was on friendly terms with Austria and with the Neapolitan Bourbons. Still, he avoided anything like an unfriendly act toward the new *de facto* government of Naples. A further problem was created by the revolt of two papal dependencies, Benevento and Ponte Corvo, island-like enclaves within the territory of Naples. Finally, the Austrians had to march through the Papal States, and were in no hurry to repair incidental damage and to recall their garrison from Bologna. There were also several minor issues to be settled after the restoration of order.

A dozen mistakes that might have been made were not made. The pope was excellently served by able subordinates, and Consalvi added one more peace victory to his brilliant record. Dr. Brady has told his story in a manner that brings the reader close to the rich documentary deposit of the Vatican archives, and to the spirit of the Church a hundred years ago.

R. CORRIGAN.

Republican Hispanic America: A History, by Charles Edward Chapman. The Macmillan Company. New York. 1937. pp. xvii + 463.

"There is a Hispanic America." And, if a true evaluation is to be made of it, it must be studied as a unit, and not as so many isolated and different sections of a continent. With this as his main point, Professor Chapman in this volume, the sequel to his *Colonial Hispanic America*, completes his history of the Central and South American countries.

The author demonstrates, in the first half of the book, the general unifying aspects of the Hispanic American countries, beginning with a summary of the "human factors" of race, character and abilities of the peoples. Then, in keeping with his thesis that "if there is one fact in Hispanic American history which is more striking than any other, it is that there are similarities, both socially and politically," the author uses a typical instance, that of the Plata region, as a "precise illustration

to illuminate the whole" of the political vicissitudes and internal problems of the various nations and as a demonstration of the importance of *caudillismo*, the dominant political institution in the Hispanic American countries. In his treatment of the political and social aspects, whether presented by the "model" problem of the Plata region, or by Hispanic America as a whole, or by the individual states, with which he deals in an appendix, the author has shown their close connection, and the prominent part played by social characteristics in the history of the nations.

The dominant tone in the general survey of Hispanic America and in the summaries of each nation, except for a few instances such as Paraguay, Peru and Ecuador, is optimism. The nations of Central and South America have come far since they first attained their independence, and though still backward and delinquent in certain political, social and economic matters, have at their disposal a wealth of natural resources that may in time bring them to what the author predicts for them, a first place among the nations of the world.

In its form the book achieves the happy goal of scholarly presentation and an interpretation of facts interestingly portrayed. Though meant to be authoritative, it is not so filled with statistics and references as to be a source of confusion to the college student or the general reader.

MARTIN HASTING.

The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle for All the British Plantations in America, published by Benjamin Franklin and reproduced from the Original Edition, Philadelphia, 1741, with a bibliographical note by Lyon N. Richardson. Columbia University Press. New York. 1938. pp. xiii + 438. \$3.00. Facsimile Text Society Series No. 41.

Manuductio ad Ministerium, Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry, by Cotton Mather, reproduced from the Original Edition, Boston, 1726, with a bibliographical note by Thomas J. Holmes and Kenneth B. Murdock. Columbia University Press. New York. 1938. pp. (11) + xix + 151. \$2.00. Facsimile Text Society Series No. 42.

Here are two museum pieces for any library. But for the student of early Americana whether he is interested in literature, journalism, politics or religion, the volumes are more than mere curios. They are, in fact, distinct contributions in that they help the student see with the eyes and feel with the sensations of men long dead. *The General Magazine* of Benjamin Franklin, antedated only three days by Bradford's *American Magazine*, lost the honor of being the first magazine published in the colonies; but in the end Franklin won the race for his journal lasted six months while that of his rival succumbed after three issues. All six numbers are reproduced in this one volume and like Lewis Carroll's walrus talk of many things—of everything of interest from the election of Pope Benedict XIV to a mathematical puzzle in rime, to say nothing of a recipe for apple-molasses. From this strange variety, however, we can single out three major topics; politics, wars, and religion. If it is true that a people stands mirrored in its literature, the short-lived journal divulges the talk of the town in colonial times.

In contrast to Franklin's journal, the appeal of Cotton Mather's *Manuductio* will be limited. The book was published in 1726, being the second published in America on Puritan educational ideals for the ministry. In airing his views on the study of languages, science, philosophy, mathematics and theology, Mather does not hesitate to deride the Roman Pontiff as "this vile person" and Aristotle as "a muddy-headed pagan"—all in one breath. In this vein, the scion of the famous Mather family reflects the typical hidebound Puritanism, a hang-over from seventeenth century New England. With due respect for Mather's dogged conservatism, one cannot help enjoy a hearty laugh at some of his rules for the candidate's health: "Daily to wash your head and mouth with cold water, is a practice that cannot be too much commended; . . . But if I am against your taking Tobacco in Smoke, you may be sure, I shall not approve your taking it in Snuff. How shameful . . . to confess that they can't live easily half an Hour together without a Delight so Sensual, so Trivial, so very Contemptible, as that of Tickling their Olfactory Nerves a little? And even bury themselves alive in pungent Grains of titillating Dust?" The manual is another index to the commonplace observation that Puritanism was a dominant factor in New England thinking.

The two facsimiles are durably bound in a neat and compact hand-book format. The editors deserve our appreciation for presenting a complete text from the few incomplete first editions still extant.

GEORGE McHUGH.

Approaches to American Social History, edited by William E. Lingelbach. New York. D. Appleton-Century Company. pp. 101. \$1.25.

At the 1936 convention of the American Historical Association a general session was devoted to a symposium on social history, or more specifically to booming the Fox-Schlesinger *History of American Life* series. This "New History" venture was praised and criticised by a political historian, a social historian and a literary editor, followed by the editor of the series, Professor Schlesinger, who rejected most of the criticism. The whole discussion, which is a contribution to American historiography, we have in the small volume under review.

The best paper is that of Bernard DeVoto, who arose "from the domain of triflers, dabblers, and dilettantes" to protest modestly against the trifling, dabbling and dilettantism of social historians. He pronounced the *History of American Life* superior to all other attempts to narrate the story of America's past, disposed conclusively of political as well as economic interpretations, and pleaded for collaboration among literary and social historians. The historian, he maintains, misses much because he does not follow literature far enough, studies it quantitatively, prefers popular to good literature and literary criticism to literature itself. In literature we have an embodiment of social ideals, aims, beliefs, sanctions; a guide to what society thinks of itself, to what it hopes for, accepts, excuses, forbids. DeVoto approves a division of labor, but not of fields; he objects to the relegation of literature to a watertight compartment. No formal definition of "social history" was given. Like the rest of us, the social historians know what it is—if we don't ask them.

R. CORRIGAN.

Saint Benedict, by Dom Justin McCann. Sheed and Ward. New York. 1937. pp. 301.

The author of this interesting and scholarly life carefully brushes away the legends that have grown up in the course of centuries about St. Benedict, and goes back to two first-hand sources. The *Dialogues* of St. Gregory the Great, who was born shortly before Benedict died, narrate naive anecdotes, usually of a miraculous nature. This might seem, at first glance, a poor source for a historical work; but on careful scrutiny it is seen to carry much of value: the names of places Benedict visited, the people he knew, the things that influenced his life. It helps us to understand the social conditions of the time. The author devotes a section of the appendix to a discussion of the nature and worth of the *Dialogues*. The *Rule of St. Benedict*, the second source, is an excellent mirror that reflects the character, the spirit, the aspirations of the holy abbot, just as any body of laws breathes the genius of its maker. For it is evident that Benedict drew on the wealth of his own experience to formulate this code for his followers.

Dom McCann devotes considerable space to a discussion of the text-history of the rule. Twenty pages, far too many, are given to a debate on the meaning of the second vow, *conversio morum*. The last chapter, which deals with the spread of Benedictinism, deserves great praise, especially for its conservatism. With the exception of the section on the second vow and the rule itself, this book makes interesting reading.

W. B. FAHERTY.

Katholisches Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, bearbeitet von Georg Timpe. Freiburg im B. Herder & Co. 1937. pp. xii + 248. \$2.40.

During the past hundred years Catholic Germans in the United States founded and supported 113 periodicals and newspapers. Of these nine were dailies, and fifty-nine were weeklies. The numbers are impressive merely as statistics. They serve also as an index to a spirit of patriotism and a determination, on the part of German leaders, not to let the German language die nor the attachment of the emigrant to the Fatherland grow cold. In 1936 the number of publications still appearing was reduced to twenty-three, among which there was no daily and only nine weeklies. This contrast, also, tells a story, of progress in American ways an American might say, of declining attachment to the homeland a German might lament. But there is nothing surprising in the change. The flow of immigration has

slackened considerably; the open spaces of the Middle West where German colonies could reproduce the conditions they had left behind are gone; young people of the second and third generation no longer feel dependent economically or culturally on the land their fathers struggled so hard not to forget. But the process has not been due to lack of loyalty or to a mere loosening of contacts. It has been not so much a movement away from Germany as a plunging into the rush and whirl of American life. Vision rather than memories, ambition to conquer the future rather than a bemoaning of the past has characterized the German in America. He is conscious of his gains. The book under review should quicken his desire and determination not to lose those elements of the German character which his ancestors brought with them.

With the aid of twenty-three collaborators Father Timpe has produced a sizable contribution to Church history in the United States. The volume is a collection of shorter monographs of unequal value, six of which are from the pen of Father Timpe. The general reader might prefer that he had done the whole book. But the division of labor has its advantages, which the historian will appreciate. A work of this kind is, in fact, an excellent preparation for a more definitive story. There are, of course, inevitable lacunae and some unevenness in treatment. If there is, here and there, a strong emotional strain, this will hardly perturb the German reader, while the comparatively few non-Germans who read the book may be presumed to be in sympathy with its general theme.

R. CORRIGAN.

Historical Records and Studies, Volume XXVIII. United States Catholic Historical Society. New York. pp. 271. \$5.00.

The Reorganization of the American Railroad System, 1893-1900, by E. G. Campbell. Columbia University Press. New York. 1938. pp. 366. \$4.50.

The United States Since 1865, by Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick. Revised Edition. F. S. Crofts & Co. New York. 1934. pp. xx + 835. \$5.00.

Mr. Thomas F. Meehan, editor of this society's publications, presents his readers in this volume a cluster of historical diamonds, among which there is none that sparkles more brightly than his own recital of the story of organized Catholic Action in the United States. It occupies but four pages. Nearly a hundred pages are given to "American Prelates in the Vatican Council" by Raymond J. Clancy, C. S. C., wherein among much other rare matter one may find the famous *Concio, habenda non habita*, of Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, scarcely elsewhere accessible in English. Sketches of James Kerrigan, of the Convert Bishops, of the first native American Bishop, F. X. de Luna Victoria, bishop of Panama, Truxillo, and Archbishop of Chuquisaca, a Negro (1695-1777) are interesting indeed; but the account of "Oliver Pollock, Catholic Patriot and Financier of the American Revolution" is an act of belated justice to a most deserving national benefactor which Father William F. Mullaney, O. M. I., performs with becoming modesty. We should like to call attention to Pollock's extraordinary merit, but Dr. James Alton James' recently issued *Oliver Pollock* along with Father Mullaney's article will doubtless make it necessary for all historians henceforth to include Pollock in any roster of western revolutionary heroes second only to George Rogers Clark.

It speaks well for the judicial character of Dr. Campbell's intellectual equipment that after a careful analysis of the disorders, the inconveniences, the bitter rivalries, and the scandals of the privately owned railroads, he should be able to write in conclusion "Altogether the assumption of control over the country's railroads by banking interests who welded together huge monopolies failed to bring with it the benefits which had been promised."

The work, concluding as it does in 1900, calls for at least one more volume. The reader of this book, so devoid of technical terms, so uniformly clear and convincing, will hope that the continuation will be carried on by Dr. Campbell.

An encyclopedia, covering every phase of American life up to date, in one volume! A work of which the publishers, the printers, and above all the authors may be justly proud. The nation of which it treats may also take complacency in so worthy an exposition of its attainments! But the sun has spots. May the reviewer, without withdrawal of a word of what has just been written, indicate, among the tens of thousands of items here treated, a spot or two in this luminous tome? John Moody

in the Yale Chronicles had disclosed that J. P. Morgan & Co. and his associates were in control of \$22,245,000,000 worth of properties. It was disappointing to find no later figure in a volume issued twenty years later. Again, the treatment of the so-called "War-debts" is so meagre as to be misleading. Finally, at page 589, American Catholics will be surprised to learn that they are now quite satisfied with the condition of the Church in Mexico where "in 1930 the churches were again opened to the worshippers."

LAURENCE J. KENNY.

A History of England, by Frederick G. Marcham. The Macmillan Co. New York. 1937. pp. ix + 975. \$4.25.

The attempt to compress the whole of English history within narrow confines is likely to result either in an interpretive essay or in a fact-laden textbook. Professor Marcham has sought a *via media* by interrupting the historical narrative with informal chapters on social and cultural aspects of English life. Although this secures variety of presentation, it interferes with the continuity and logical progression. The book is well written and fairly well proportioned, but unequal in quality. The chapters on modern England are decidedly better than those on medieval and ancient England.

Unlike the followers of the Whig tradition, Professor Marcham is remarkably conservative in his interpretation of events. He takes into account the findings of modern scholarship which have done much to rehabilitate the Stuart monarchy. In dealing with large controversial issues he tries to be fair. Both sides are stated impartially, and the reader is left free to judge for himself. Occasionally, however, there are slips of the pen, as when the author says that Mary Stuart's "complicity [in the Babington plot] was fully established." The Jesuits are handled a bit roughly. Father Garnet was not one of the conspirators in the Gun Powder Plot. To say: [the battle of Drogheda] "was a bloody victory, for Cromwell put to the sword many hundreds of the native Irish because he believed that a violent campaign would be a short one" seems to imply that the end justified the means. While not untrue, it is at least an understatement of Cromwell's cruelty to the Irish.

These, however, are but minor blemishes. The book as a whole is temperate and just. It should prove satisfactory for those for whom it is intended, college students studying English history.

W. C. GRUMMEL.

Social Ideals in German Literature, 1770-1830, by Ludwig W. Kahn. New York. Columbia University Press. 1938. pp. 108. \$1.50.

This book can be read at a single sitting. The reader will enjoy it, and it will make him think. It would be difficult, in fact, to handle this discussion of the deeper meanings of life and of society without making it interesting. Without unduly obtruding himself into the picture the author, by merely paraphrasing the literary gems of Stürmer und Dränger, of Classicists and Romanticists, and by apt and copious quotation, has given us an excellent introduction to German thought during a period when much thinking, sane or wild, was done. The student of history might wish a further elucidation of the influence of writers upon the stirring events of the time, and of events upon the changing philosophies of the writers. But we must not quarrel with the author for not writing a different book. After all, in his short one hundred pages there was not much space for lengthy disquisitions on politics, economics, ethics, metaphysics, and religion.

Social ideals are here taken to mean "the poet's conception of the way in which men should live and what their mutual relations should be." In the Sturm und Drang period Individualism runs riot. Irresponsibility, freedom, license characterize the "exceptional" individual at war with society. Self-assertive and utterly selfish, he throws off all restraint, and then blames civilization for the débâcle he makes of his life. Vastly superior to this educated savage is the Classicist who freely subordinates himself to principles of a higher order, and cultivates his personality by self-denial, self-sacrifice and renunciation. He submits to law and order, to duty, to society. The Revolution had released the basest passions of man. Schiller and, in his later years, Goethe, turn back to the moderation and "humanity" of the Greeks for an antidote to this irrationality. It is easy to fall under the spell of the universal Goethe, and it is hard to resist the appeal of Schiller's bourgeois virtues. But why could not these earth-bound artists have sought perfection not in man at his pagan

best, but in man as God would have him? Why put the light out for the mere joy of discovering things in the dark? Following the poets in their labyrinthine wanderings in search of a solution to life's riddles has its pleasures, but the masterly verse of Goethe is a poor compensation for the sense of futility in the quest.

In contrast to the ruthless, militant, swaggering individualism of the Sturm und Drang, the calm, reasonable subjection to law and to society which we find in the Classicists is an advance in the right direction. But it is too satisfied with earth to be wholly acceptable. The Romanticists, who looked forward or backward to a golden age, and who substituted "love and good will" in a happy community for "duty and principles," display a patriotism which we admire and a predisposition to accept the Catholic Church which makes us less inclined to condemn their extravagances. The author is less pronounced in his likes and dislikes than the reviewer, and his more objective account deserves a second reading.

R. CORRIGAN.

Sea Dogs of the Sixties, by Jim Dan Hill. Univ. of Minnesota Press. 1935. pp. ix + 265. \$3.00.

No landlubber is Jim Dan Hill. As seaman signaler aboard the battleship *Maine* during the World War, and at present holder of a third mate's ticket, he is well qualified to discuss things maritime. Head of Wisconsin State Teachers' College and possessing a doctorate in history, his historical scholarship is assured. An octet of able seamen, chosen equally from the Union and Confederate forces, are his heroes: Farragut, Bulloch, Wilkes, Wilkinson, Rodgers, Read, Winslow and Waddell.

The fact that reverses on the sea contributed largely to the downfall of the Confederacy gives this volume a peculiar interest. Offhand, one with an ordinary knowledge of the issue, would hope to find sketches of Semmes and other luminaries in the naval war; but, as the author states, his aim is to emphasize eight specific phases of the naval war rather than to retell the complete story. This procedure is not lop-sided for scarcely one important naval engagement has been omitted. A good deal of the reader's time is occupied with a repetition of facts, but behind these facts we meet their creators in their full personalities. The author has tried to clear his men from the calumnies and non-existent virtues that have arisen from popular fancy and war psychology. He has discarded legends and has searched official documents, personal narratives, letters and memoirs, biographies and material of a secondary nature. From this extensive research, he has produced a book that reads like a novel, although there is no evidence that fiction has crept into its pages. Familiarity with contemporaneous sources adds a vital touch to the staid recounting of historical data, not to mention the portraits, maps and illustrations. Yet those who judge scholarship by the number of footnotes will find the work lacking an essential, for in most cases, sources are not quoted. However, *Sea Dogs of the Sixties* will prove an interesting addition to any book-shelf.

GEORGE McHUGH.

The Populist Revolt, A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party, by John D. Hicks. Univ. of Minnesota Press. 1931. pp. xiii + 473. \$4.00.

A glance at the bibliography of *The Populist Revolt* shows that no mean store of literature has accumulated on the subject. What we find in the book, then, is scarcely new. But the author deserves our gratitude for presenting in one volume an adequate story of the widespread agrarian unrest that found fertile soil in the western and southern portions of our nation a generation ago. Two features of this book everyone will do well to notice; the extensive research put into it, and its objectivity. The archival material on the subject is exhaustive, to say nothing of the numerous monographs. But the Wisconsin professor has given us more than a mere compilation.

A great deal of the material was written and published in the midst of hot prejudice that Populism carried in its train and while its platform was not clearly defined. Amid this farrago of party enthusiasms, at times fanatic, the author has kept in the middle of the road, weighing in the scale of a sane judgment, the tempestuous party propaganda. It is a point, too, that the author has not dipped his pen in partisan bias. Historical parallels and analogies are always dangerous, but the agrarian grievances of the seventies and eighties, as well as those of labor, though in a lesser degree, resemble the particular labor distress of our own day. The labor leaders might study the lesson learned by the People's Party, namely that their entrance into third party politics marked their defeat. On the other hand, the Populist contribution has been great, and most of its platform, denounced as radical in the nineties, is part and parcel

of today's legislation. The author has noted this in his chapter on "The Populist Contribution" which will stand revision in view of the reforms of the present administration. The book was first published in 1931 but to date still remains unsurpassed in its field.

GEORGE McHUGH.

Morocco as a French Economic Venture, by Melvin M. Knight. D. Appleton-Century. New York. 1937. pp. xii + 244. \$2.25.

In this volume the author, a professor of Economics at the University of California, has gathered together the results of twenty years of careful study and observation of European imperial policies. As a case study of contemporary European expansion Morocco has been singled out for several reasons. It was probably the most valuable region open to European imperialism at the turn of the century; it is an apt illustration of the profits and losses of recent imperial expansion; and as a protectorate with an "open door" policy it has had visible effects on imperial economic relations.

The working out of the "open door," the economic value of an imperialistic program, who profits and who loses in each case, are points fully discussed by Professor Knight. The story of Morocco during this period is not a pleasant one. Continual haggling over treaties by the powers of Europe led up to two rather serious crises in which war was only narrowly averted. In 1911 France established a protectorate over the country as part of her "civilizing mission," but the facts are an ironical comment on such a "mission." The best land was stolen from the Moroccans and given to Frenchmen who were never more than one in seven of the native population. Expenditures for schools, hospitals, and other building programs favored the French settlers and ignored the Moroccans, and in the great depression it was the native populace who suffered most. They were the first to be laid off and the last to receive relief although they paid most of the taxes.

Difficulties are bound to be present when a policy of the "open door" is exercised in a country where a powerful protectionist nation, such as France is, has assumed the responsibility for that country's economic development. Morocco has been an economic drain on France, but the latter will never give it up since it is too important a factor in the French imperial defense. To those interested in the economic phase of history and especially to students of economics this volume will serve as a guide to a more thorough understanding of free trade and economic imperialism.

P. T. DERRIG.

A History of England, by W. Freeman Galpin. Prentice-Hall. New York. 1938. pp. xvi + 843.

Anyone with an elementary knowledge of English history will find this book disappointing. Mr. Galpin's failure to understand the intricate relations between the Church and the State in the Middle Ages, and the real danger of Caesaro-Papism at that time blinds him to the significance of St. Anselm's compromise with Henry on the question of lay investiture and of St. Thomas Becket's quarrel with Henry II. He seems to follow G. G. Coulton in his discussion of medieval economic and social conditions.

The section dealing with the Reformation and the Stuart dynasty is particularly misleading. Here Mr. Galpin, neglecting the work of Pollen and other modern scholars, interweaves his personal opinions and private prejudices with historical fact. One doubts, for instance, whether historical evidence gives warrant for the following statements: "The Reformation, in short, was an accomplished fact long before Henry became concerned over the future of his dynasty or before he ever set eyes on Anne Boleyn." . . . "Campion and Parsons, Jesuit priests, had been caught spreading religious discontent and political dissension." Parsons was never "caught"; and the slur on the saintly Campion betrays Mr. Galpin's twisted mentality. We also have the Bloody-Mary-Good-Queen-Bess tradition, and learn that Mary Queen of Scots was the archconspirator of the Babington plot, and that James' deposition was the result of his following the advice of the Jesuits with which he had surrounded himself. The doctrines of the "Romanists" are discussed but not understood.

Mr. Galpin has gotten away from the dry text-book method of presentation and has devoted considerable space to the description of the economic and social condition of the common people. This has, unfortunately, led him to dismiss important figures like Cecil, St. Thomas More, and others with a mere mention. His history of England is inferior to some half dozen standard text-books both in material presented and interpretation of that material.

WILLIAM GRUMMEL.

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